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The manner of ripening the banana is as convenient and simple as it is expeditious. They dig in the ground a round or square hole, of about three feet in depth, made perfectly level at the bottom, and of the size suited to the quantity of bananas intended to be put into it. They then collect an oily nut, much resembling our common walnut, which is also used by them instead of candles [*ama*]. These are broken, mixed with dirt, and strewed about the bottom of the hole. On this is laid a layer of grass, with which the sides are also carefully lined; after which the bunches of green bananas are packed in, and covered with grass, to prevent the dirt from coming in contact with them. The whole is covered with dirt, and left four days, at the expiration of which time they are taken out perfectly ripe, and of a beautiful yellow colour. 252

Certain other fruits, besides bananas, were eaten raw: a very juicy, sweet apple called *kehia* (*Eugenia jambosa*); a native pineapple (*fa'a noka*); the *katiu*, a kind of melon; the *maii* (*Terminalia* sp.), the *vi* (*Spondias dulcis*), and *Papaya carica*, which is also called *vi* by the natives. The papaya was also cooked. Uncut and unpeeled, it was wrapped in *fau* leaves, and left for two hours in the earth oven, after which it was peeled and mashed in a bowl with coconut milk.

There is no doubt that the constantly feared famine days often came to the Marquesas, when the great *ma* holes on the mountains were opened and their contents partitioned among the families; when *ma* was made of abortive breadfruit, even of their skins and cores which were ordinarily thrown away; when *fau* leaves and the roots of the tree-fern (*tukuu*) were baked in the oven; when wild yams (*puauhi*) were given a quick five-minute roasting in dry leaves on hot coals; when *ti* roots were baked for a long time in an oven with a very hot fire of large wood, then peeled, and chewed for the juice, which is rich and thick like maple syrup; when the kernels in the pandanus made into a paste (15, p. 51) and the small fruits of the fern *pu'u manini* or *moina* were eaten. 252 261

But sooner or later the *tou motua* (eldest breadfruit children)—the first fruits—appeared again; another bread fruit season opened, and the rotation of cookery started again.

ADDITIONAL CULINARY TERMS

Some of the terms relating to food, given by Dordillon (8) may be suggestive: *iaia*, little balls of *ma* not well ground; *kaeo*, to cut breadfruit and extract the heart; *kereuu, popoi* not diluted with water, not ready to eat; *ko*, to knead breadfruit with the hand; *mei kotoa*, breadfruit dried by the sun; *oomu*, cooked many times; *nahi*, small package of leaves; *pope*, package of coarse *ma*; *pihueu*, to salt meat to preserve it; *pokii*, small package in leaves; *puihi*, dish of native chestnuts; *taahu*, cooked on one side only; *tihuru i tihuu*, to salt meat; *tikohi*, to take out the stones from a hot oven to put in the *ma*; *tiohu*, wrapped in leaves; *tiumu*, small pack- 252

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seems that the human flesh was eaten sometimes at the feast place, while at other times each man took home his own share, or that some was eaten and some taken home. When human flesh was taken home, the men had to eat it in the sacred storehouse (*fata'a*). Regardless of where or how the victim was eaten, the head was always sent to the sacred place (*me'ae*) for the god. It was not common for the intestines to be eaten, although in Atu Ona Valley there was one tribe that ate them. This tribe was the one reputed to have eaten fellow tribesmen. Women never ate human flesh except that of a victim taken in revenge for the death of a particular fellow tribesman. In the eating of the flesh of such a revenge victim, all members of the tribe shared.

The manner of eating human victims on the feast place at Hiva Oa has been described to me as follows: The body was cut up raw, and the pieces were distributed. *Kava* was then mixed. When the drink was ready, a small piece of flesh was put on the end of a stick and held in the flames of a fire just long enough to heat the meat, although not long enough to cook it. The *kava* was then drunk and the flesh quickly eaten, with the result, it is said, that a man became immediately intoxicated. If there was enough of the flesh, some of it was taken home by the different men. At each eating the same routine was followed with the same results. The flesh was kept and eaten until it was rotten.

A number of practices connected with cannibalism described in the manuscripts of the Catholic Fathers (4, 7, 9, 19) seem to belong with this description of the customs connected with the eating of human victims. *Pī'au mitimiti* was applied to the drinking of juices of decomposed human victims. The eyes and heart were the portions allotted to the highest chief, while the ears were shared out among his servants. Hands and feet were cut off and eaten first by the rest of the feasters, being regarded as especially delectible. These manuscripts state that the abdomen was cut open and that the intestines and other organs were eaten, the intestines being eaten raw. The crushing of the skull of a child and the eating of its brains are described by one writer, along with other similar practices. Père Siméon (7) describes one occasion on which the brain only was eaten, the rest of the body being discarded, and another occasion on which victims were eaten raw when a hasty departure was taken through fear of the enemy.

I ascertained at Pua Ma'u that in that valley there was a special type of vessel, called the *hue po'o*, that was intended to hold human flesh while it was kept in the house. This vessel was of wood and had a cover with a handle on top, called *po'o*. Cut up into this handle, from the underside of the cover, was a hole in which a small piece of human flesh could be

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Famine was a constant and entirely unpredictable threat. The fear of famine resulted in a tremendous value being placed on food. Marquesan eating habits and everything associated with food show the effect of this periodic shortage.

At the age of ten every child went through the ceremony of sanctifying the hands; after this, he could prepare food for himself and others. The cooking and eating were done in separate houses set twenty yards or so from the main dwelling. No one ever ate in the dwelling house or near the food-storage house. Food for men and for women was prepared separately and even cooked at different fires and in different utensils. Most foods were eaten by both men and women, although there were some food taboos for women. There were a number of permanent taboos on food; certain foods could not be eaten by persons in certain occupations; taboos were imposed for several months before a feast, largely to insure bountiful provision for the occasion. A family head might taboo the crop from certain trees in preparation for a betrothal or other ceremony. However, taboos on specific foods were not highly developed. This may have been due to the periods of famine, when such taboos would have seriously interfered with survival.

The social value of food is reflected in many ways; first, in the regulation about its use, and again in the tremendous elaboration and decoration of the various objects used in connection with food. For example, the breadfruit pounders, made of rock and weighing from one and a half to three pounds, were usually carved in a design of human faces. The labor of such carving was enormous, as the stone was very hard and the only thing available to cut it with was the teeth of rats. To carve the top of a pounder would take all a man's spare time for six months. Similarly, the utensils from which food was eaten, the cocoanut cups and containers in which spare food was stored, were carved with extreme delicacy and elaboration, for the Marquesans were artists of a high order.

Food was kept in a special storehouse mounted on posts and taboo to women. Food was one of the few things subject to

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theft; members of the same family would steal food from one another, but nothing else. The high value placed on food was clearly shown in social observances. Every form of social advancement was linked with some ceremony involving a feast. The natives took delight and pride in the amount of food produced at these feasts, sheer bulk being more important than the delicacy of cooking or preparation. Taboos would be placed on perhaps two of the staple foods, so that no one could eat them for months, and there would be a great accumulation by the time the taboo was removed for the feast. The family would starve themselves for weeks in order to fatten the pigs for the event. Even tribal wars were suspended when a feast was imminent. Neighboring tribes would be formally invited to join the festivities. An enemy never attacked if he knew a feast was in preparation. After the feast, however, when all were beginning to suffer from indigestion, fights were very likely to flare up, and the visiting tribe often had to run for home.

The Marquesans had the belief, common to many primitive peoples, that certain types of illness were caused by the absence of the soul. Their method of restoring the lost soul was another testimonial to the importance of food in this culture. The *tuhunga* (medicine man) built a small house, in front of which he placed food saying, "Soul, this is for you." The soul, unable to resist the lure of food, returned to the house and was snatched by the waiting *tuhunga* and returned to its proper place. He usually had many scratches to show for his struggle with the lost soul.

There was plenty of timber and bamboo on the islands, but stone suitable for implements was irregularly distributed. The Marquesans' material culture was extremely rich, perhaps the richest in the Polynesian area, characterized by a tremendous amount of decoration and elaboration of detail. A primitive craftsman, carpenter, or canoe maker would have half a dozen adzes, each for a special use. A tattooer would have in his kit ten or fifteen bone combs of different sizes for making various designs,

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but in any event the nursing period was very short. Women took great pride in the firmness and beautiful shape of their breasts, which were important in sexual play. They believed that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it. Feeding times were irregular and dependent on the convenience of the adult rather than the protests of the child.

I saw only one small infant during my entire stay in the Marquesas. It must have been about six months old, but I never saw it nurse. The feeding process was brutal. The child was laid flat on its back on the house platform while the mother stood alongside with a mixture of cocoanut milk and baked breadfruit which had been made into a thin, pasty gruel. She would take a handful of this stuff, and, holding her hand over the infant's face, pour the food on its mouth. The child would gasp and sputter, and gulp down as much as possible. Then the mother would wipe off the child's face with a sweep of her hand and poured on another handful of the mixture.

There was no particular effort at anal control for small children until they were a year or so old. The adult merely changed the bark cloth on which the child lay. Later the child might be picked up, carried a short distance, and held out to perform its functions. With adults the excretory functions were private; they usually sought retirement in the bushes. I have no data on thumb sucking beyond the fact that I never saw any child doing it. Nor did I ever see any of the postural attitudes common to European children who show embarrassment in the presence of elders by sticking their thumbs in their mouths. (The men smoke moderately but there is no chewing of gum or nuts as a form of mastication pleasure. I have, however, observed men sucking the breasts of women when it was evidently not a preliminary form of sexual excitement.)

From birth on, the child was never alone. The small child was under constant threat from the female ogre spirits, *vehini-hai*, who are supposed to steal small children and eat them. As the child grew older and began to wander, there was the additional